

The United Nations has no responsibility to maintain by force the established authority of any régime against its people, or to prevent an established régime from putting down rebellion. We cannot go so far as to say that all force in cases of civil conflict is illegal and expect the United Nations to maintain the status quo in every individual country through the world. Clearly, it is equally wrong to suggest that if the régime in power in any country is changed by force from within, that the United Nations should intervene to protect the newly established authority against the old. Nobody contemplates the assumption by the United Nations of any such responsibility and it would be generally expected that no United Nations force or measures of force should be utilized either to aid or to quell internal rebellion. But when a civil conflict develops in such a way that other nations become directly involved, or threaten to intervene, and the international peace is in danger, this great organization cannot be unconcerned. There is room then, in such cases, for the exercise of good offices, for efforts of mediation and conciliation and perhaps, indeed, with the consent of the countries concerned, for the establishment on their territories of some United Nations force or body as a safeguard for the international peace, and to preserve the integrity of a nation from outside aggression. I emphasize that this must be with the consent of the countries concerned because the Soviet representative has attempted to distort our intentions. My country would not be a party to an effort to impose any kind of international police force on the countries of the Middle East or elsewhere. We think the widespread use of the term "international police force" in this connection is perhaps unfortunate. The role of the United Nations is to assist member states to find peace. It could not, even if it would, impose its will upon them in this form.

We have failed to put into effect the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter, under which it was envisaged that the United Nations would have adequate force to intervene in any case of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and take effective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. There is no immediate prospect of our reaching agreement on the provision for the United Nations of forces available to act against any country which the United Nations should declare to be an aggressor. We can earnestly hope and pray that the need for them will never arise. In the meantime, we need not fail in more modest efforts to provide less complicated machinery which could take the action necessary to prevent small wars from developing, or to maintain and supervise a peace which has been established. The success which has been achieved by the United Nations Emergency Force and by various observer groups established by the United Nations points to the need of further development of machinery of this kind in order to help the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities.